spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas*' son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

536 522 831 [533] pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all, comic simulacra of considerable indecency were enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 553 [794] [795] 163 848 [684] [725] The feast of St. George is the most propitious for christenings, and babies born immediately afterward often have to wait for a year to be baptized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little vampires. The average family varies between five and fifteen children. Random fornication, adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan personified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p. 84 A]

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602 571 182 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a complementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

/136/ The Principles of Married Life.

585 602 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] [474] [605] [572] [492] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 602 536 [583] Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party withdraw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a [533] [539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

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the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

Βιβλιοθήκη I, 914, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ: Περιήγησις, II, 17, 4, IX, 8, 1, ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ: Ὁ Δεσμώτης τῶν Πλατωνείων, 6, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ:

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ: Κρῆτες, Fragm. 472, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

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These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the
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536 women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first
[533] night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special
[535] dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

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796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

[124] 33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with
[831] great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali
796 gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I.
191 ρνη'. Similar practices are found almost all over
536 Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are
796 concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed
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121 789 the medium of elements of the sentient world. It is in this manner, moreover, that direct contact is used in order to bring into relationship the components of the action.

* * * *

Finally, with regard to the ideas bound up with the application of the postulate of representation, we must emphasize first that their study must be adapted to the demands of each case. Specifically, the corresponding practices consist of the ritual of Pure Monday, the scene of Christmas Day, vows and curses and, clearly, black magic.

The evocation of forces, and consequently the recourse to myth, takes place in all cases except in the scene of Christmas Day. The orientation of the practices--fertility, state of being and longevity, threats against existence--determines the recourse to first causes.

(536) On the other hand, the scene of Christmas, during which young girls, seated motionless on the ground, imitate nursing ewes, comprises only non-mythical elements, since this action is based on second causes. A situation is reproduced which must be carried out in connection with elements of this world. We have shown, moreover, the role that analogical reasoning plays in this practice.

In all these cases, the placement into-contact is represented.

Now, the homogeneity between the components of the action as well as between the kind of action and the means chosen is absolutely complied with.

THE SARAKATSANI IN THE PRESENCE OF THEIR MAGIC.--THE RITES.

The Sarakatsani practicing his magic is not "cold-blooded." It is not only desire, conditioned by need, and the hope of arriving at some kind of result; it is not even the abstract idea of having to do with cosmogonic forces which moves him. What thrills him is the nature of these forces that myth discloses and suggest to him, dictating at the same time specific attitudes toward them. The study of these attitudes